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us to give expression to our views, that we now propose to bring the German Government to terms and end the war?

Why will these rarified souls insist upon peace as the one goal of the present world situation? There were many years of international "peace" prior to August 1, 1914. Germany was at peace with France for a generation; Russia had had over a decade of international peace. But that type of peace led to the rape of Belgium and France and of America. The peace that now we must work for is a durable peace—a peace that can never be won by those willing to bargain for a temporary peace. A peace by negotiation now would mean a German victory unless the negotiations are initiated and pledged for by the Imperial German Government unmistakably backed by the German people. Unbroken military Germany makes any international peace worthy of the name impossible, for the only peace that will be acceptable to a world disillusioned at last is the peace of justice.

EDITORIAL NOTES

"A Contented Army."

The United States purposes to have a "contented army," and Raymond Fosdick is attending to the business.

It is true that there are reasons for believing that everything is not as it should be with our soldier boys. The Surgeon General of the United States is authority for the statement, based upon personal inspection of the camps, that "very serious sanitary conditions" exist. We are told that there is a lack of winter clothing, a shortage of tentage, overcrowding, and inadequate hospital facilities. There is an abnormally high death rate from pneumonia due to the lack of proper clothing and the absence of heat in the barracks. While the clothing situation bids fair to be relieved at once, it takes time to build base hospitals and to provide their equipment.

On the top of this we also hear unpleasant rumors about the Shipping Board, of its contracts, of its ship-building efficiency, of its red tape and indecision. We understand that ample funds are at the disposal of the Committee on Commerce of the Senate for an inquiry which is now being pressed during the Christmas recess. We understand that the Merchant Marine Committee of the House is carrying on an investigation of its own. In the meantime Chairman Hurley is busily engaged reorganizing the Shipping Board.

On the top of all this the lack of co-ordination between the various "Boards," a co-ordination provided for by the Germans under their General Staff, and by France and England under a Secretary of Munitions, is now embarrassing our efforts seriously as we plan to

meet our obligations on the line of battle. But whatever the facts in the case of the army, or in the case of the navy, it is reasonable to expect mistakes, delays, even inefficiency and the evils which follow in their wake. And yet all these difficulties will be met and overcome. They have been met and overcome in Europe, they will be met and overcome here. If we may paraphrase Disraeli's famous remark, we have the brains, we have the brawn, and we have the money, too.

In spite of the conditions complained of, however, our army is to be "a contented army," and it is becoming more so each day. Never before in history has a great nation raised an army with the idealism that America is now going about the job. Every cantonment with a library, a Y. M. C. A., an athletic instructor, a leader of singing, a hostess house! A nation with a singing and contented army! That is the thing we are developing in our midst. The immoralities and the crimes thought to be necessary accompaniments of all armies heretofore, are being eliminated in the case of our army by the expulsive power of new affections. History will give great credit to the men who protected our army from the perils of immoralities which have more than decimated all armies heretofore; indeed, which have reduced by one-third the effectiveness of European armies in this war. These facts should be widely advertised, especially among those whose boys are now in the army or are soon to be there. It will hearten them immeasurably. But not only is this encouraging for the fathers and mothers of our soldier boys, it is encouraging for every American who realizes, when he stops to think, that these are the boys who are to come back to us, and to run America as did the returned soldiers after the American Revolution and after the Civil War. The American Peace Society wishes to express to the Committee on Training Camp Activities its appreciation of the efforts in behalf of "a contented army."

An Intelligent Army.

The "contented army" described above is not enough. Our army must be an intelligent army. In building

armies heretofore the invariable aim and single aim has been to organize effective fighting units. The army might be discontented; it might be immoral; it might be brutal; the important thing has been that it should be a fighting army. So far as we are able to learn, the attempt never has been made, except possibly in the case of the Crusades, to utilize to the full the dynamics of a rational basis for the proceeding.

The aim of Mr. Raymond Fosdick and his workers to produce "a contented army," to keep men while engaged in the unnatural and abnormal business of learning to

kill as rational and normal as possible, is, we believe, a fine service, promising as it is new. There remains, however, the duty of teaching every soldier the exact principles upon which the United States enters this war. No effort should be spared to enable every khaki-clad lad to see crystal clear just why the United States is engaged in this war, and just why it is a privilege to die if need be that its purposes may prevail. It will not do to expect the soldier to be the effective soldier he is capable of becoming unless he sees the exact reasons behind the business. Our soldier may be made comfortable in Y. M. C. A. halls, entertained in hostess houses, fed intellectually from the best of the libraries, diverted in theaters, and consoled in religious gatherings, and still be ignorant of the cause he represents, blind, profoundly disturbed in his reason, and in consequence unnecessarily ineffective. The Committee on Public Information should have a department devoted exclusively to the education of the soldier in terms of the precise aims—economic, political, moral—for which the United States has entered upon the war. Every writer and speaker, every institution of an educational nature should be enlisted to make our army an intelligent army. Mr. Fosdick well says that a fighting army must be “a contented army.” We should respectfully add that a fighting army must also be an intelligent army. The American Peace Society gladly offers to place its plant and editorial staff at the service of our Government, not that our Government may command success in this war merely, but that we may be successful indeed because every officer and every private clearly sees by the light of reason that we deserve success.

Five Years More?

We are being urged to reconcile ourselves as speedily as we may to a possible five years' war. This is by no means intended to convey the impression that the present struggle may be conducted in a leisurely way, as by one who waits patiently on inevitable victory. It means all the splendid effort that our people are making today, and this continued, if necessary, without relaxing of purpose for five years to come; perhaps longer. It means indeed increasing that effort, as we increase in steadiness, efficiency, singleness of mind. It means ceasing to regard what you are doing today as a condescending contribution quickly to be repaid by peace and prosperity. It means payment after payment, effort upon effort, sacrifice added to sacrifice, and the whole score gladly forgotten. It means that you reserve nothing to yourself, saying of it: “This is too precious to give for the high principles of justice, right, and democracy.” It means that everything you own is held in trust till it is needed as a weapon in defense of those principles. If justice,

right, and human fellowship can be mocked, with what honor can one make peace? To what profit shall one accumulate property? To what end live?

Putting the House in Order.

When you have reconciled yourself (as you may now or must later) to five years of war, accepted it as the ultimate fact, faced it without any “ifs” or “buts,” you will begin to put your house in order. It is quite possible that your Government may, in the course of five years, need all that you have—your sons, if you have any, your savings, your luxuries, your comforts, even some of your necessities, your home, perhaps, and any other possessions that directly or indirectly it may make use of. You would be a fool to give all this up today and go live in a barrel. Your duty now is to husband these things thriftily, partly that you may not be a burden to your country now or later, but mostly that you may give to your country when it most needs it the best that you have and the most that you have to give. In an orderly house one finds what is needed quickly when needed. One does not stumble over the unneeded every hour of the day. What our country needs of us is men, money, and co-operative, unified private effort. When it calls for men, the men should be ready. When it calls for money, the money should be at hand, not invested where values must be turned topsy-turvy to get it, nor yet dribbled out long ago in petty extravagances. When private effort is called for, it can be furnished only as individuals have studied what they can do, when they can do it, how they may do it best—and then as they do it, quietly, without question, all together.

Every house that is not in order means just so much more bloodshed, so many more lives spent futilely, so much longer before victory lays bare the excavation into which the foundations of international justice and peace must be laid. Clutter and mess are two of the greatest enemies of human progress. They are unnecessary, avoidable, impotent when confronted with resolution. Better meet defeat at the hands of the Germans, cleanly and definitely, than be crippled into disaster by shambling inefficiency that will not face the issue and meet it squarely.

The Political Agnostics of the Future.

In a remarkable letter from an Englishman, which Herbert Croly quotes in his article in *The New Republic* for December 15, is sketched a higher definition of democracy even than that of President Wilson. It is government by men who acknowledge humbly, but with all self-respect, that no human power is infallible; that they do not of themselves know; but that they have faith in One who does and who will guide those who earnestly and

selflessly strive to interpret his will. The actual words in which this is sketched are:

"No one can have failed to observe that here and there at the front, and even at home, the 'padre' has lately been winning on the editor and the orator by virtue simply of a willingness to confess that, while he knows surely from what direction the solution will come, he yet, to his shame, neither knows exactly what it is nor is able to offer it to those who seek it. . . . But this same 'democracy' is now being trumpeted in our ears by a thousand preachers as a gospel of human mastery, claiming the absolute allegiance of thinkers, and therefore of those whom they teach, to the exclusion of every other faith and every other hope. It is the preaching of an orthodoxy professedly rooted in scientific certainty. . . . We will have no government that claims impeccability; no governmental principles that seek to impose themselves as principles of life and thought. We know that these things are evil. We know that they make for war."

By the same token it may be believed that those who come home after the war to build up democracy of this sort will not trust it to any inflexible, "infallible," patent-medicine variety of international arrangement. They will insist upon the divine right of men to try, weigh, and experiment, to grow by natural growth from the imperfect toward perfection.

If you have never gone step by step through the "International Program for Peace through Justice," printed on the first page of every issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*; if you have never observed how each article of that program grows naturally and normally out of the foregoing, and is in itself a sure but neither radical nor cocksure step forward from the last, and how the whole ten round out into a perfect machine that is neither rigid nor stringent, but flexible and adaptable, relieving friction, taking up slack, tightening softly national prejudices, gently making it possible for them to dovetail finally into unity—if you have never done this, do it now, painstakingly. You will understand better than ever before why the American Peace Society is today and why it will be tomorrow. Its principles are fundamental principles; its program of action obeys the universal laws of evolution and healthy growth. These are primal, permanent things. They are the sort of things to which the new men of the new age will turn instinctively.

Zu Reventlow's admirable plan for the *Herausreisung und Entfernung des "Belgischen" Gedankens* as a means of making a German Belgium tolerable to both Germans and ex-Belgians has only five or six things the matter with it. The phrase, freely translated, implies, "Tearing out and banishing the idea—'Belgian.'" This has been tried for many years in Alsace-Lorraine

without conspicuous success. Furthermore, the roots of the "Belgian" idea are memory. Zu Reventlow will find it far easier to prohibit Belgians to think in Flemish than to make them forget that they are Belgians.

We are used, now, to having God's name taken in vain by Kings, Emperors, Presidents, and civil and military leaders with as much impunity and as little sense of shame as is shown in the oaths of a boor. But our perceptions are not yet wholly dulled. We can still appreciate the cleanliness, honor and strength radiating from a statement such as this: "The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, *only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.*"

Mr. Hoover will find a "smokeless day," for a change, very popular with his friends, the housewives. If he and Mr. McAdoo will confer upon the matter they will probably come to a realization of the fact, not only that "a good cigar is a smoke," but that it is also a War Savings Thrift Stamp.

When you buy a bond, you have to reinvest or else waste your interest. When you buy a War Savings Certificate Stamp, Uncle Sam reinvests your interest for you, quarterly, at four per cent, and makes every penny of it work as hard as if it were a million dollars.

Those who have not understood the term "moral isolation" as applied to the state of Germany are recommended to consider the fact that the only nation with which Germany can hope to make peace at present is the most lawless, ruffian-led and self-degraded in Europe.

If the thought of the common people is to be the only air that Governments may breathe, certain of our European neighbors would better get a "corner" on gas-masks before it is too late.

Does your internationalism "strut its uneasy hour," or does it take its coat off and get to work, now, with conditions as they are?

There are folk who would rather compound an international felony than prick a conscience.

"Peace with victory?" In a sense, yes. But peace on victory is just a "duck on a rock."